

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03

INR-11 IO-14 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01 PA-04 PM-07

PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-07 DRC-01 NIC-01 /154 W
----- 014621

P R 051132Z OCT 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0480

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 MBFR VIENNA 0289

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING
OF OCTOBER 3, 1974

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: AT ITS OCTOBER 3 MEETING, CHAIRED BY THE ACTING GREEK REP (NEZERITIS), THE AD HOC GROUP (AHG) HEARD REPORTS OF BILATERALS AND OF THE GROMYKO-MORO MEETING IN NEW YORK (SEPTTEL), DISCUSSED THE OCTOBER 3 POLISH PLENARY STATEMENT AND REVIEWED AND APPROVED THE WORKING GROUP'S DRAFT OUTLINE FOR THE OCTOBER 10 WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT. THE GROU ASSESSED THE POLISH PLENARY STATEMENT AS BEING A NEGATIVE RESPONSE TO ALLIED PHASING PROPOSALS AND AGREED TO
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FOCUS ON DISPARITIES IN THE NEXT ALLIED PLENARY

STATEMENT. THE GROUP AGREED WITH THE US VIEW THAT THE WEST COULD AND SHOULD MAINTAIN THE PRESSURE FOR SOME EASTERN MOVEMENT WITHOUT EXHIBITING NERVOUSNESS OR GIVING THE IMPRESSION OF TIME PRESSURE. AFTER READING US DEL MEMORANDUM, INDICATING APPARENT EASTERN INTENTION TO DIVULGE MAIN THRUST OF EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS, THE GROUP ASKED BELGIAN REP (ADRIAENSSEN) TO REMIND THE POLISH REP (STRULAK) OF THE UNDERSTANDING ON THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE TALKS. END SUMMARY.

OCTOBER 3 POLISH PLENARY STATEMENT

2. US DEP REP CHARACTERIZED THE POLISH STATEMENT AS AN EXPLICIT AND THOROUGHLY NEGATIVE RESPONSE TO ALLIED PROPOSALS ON PHASING, WHICH DEMONSTRATED THAT THE EAST HAD MOVED BACK EVEN FROM HINTS OF MOVEMENT DURING THE LAST ROUND. HE SUGGESTED THAT ALLIES COULD ATTACK THE STATEMENT BY QUOTING DIRECTLY FROM IT, PARTICULARLY BY CONTRASTING THE LACK OF ANY EASTERN MOVEMENT WITH REFERENCES TO EASTERN READINESS TO RESOLVE QUESTION OF WHOSE FORCES SHOULD BE REDUCED FROM THE OUTSET, TO MAKE CONCRETE PROGRESS AND WILLINGNESS TO REACH MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS. US DEP REP SAID THE ALLIES SHOULD KEEP THE PRESSURE ON BY CONTINUING TO REPROACH THE EAST FOR FAILING TO MAKE CONCESSIONS COMPARABLE TO THOSE OF THE ALLIES.

3. UK REP (ROSE) SAID THE POLISH ARGUMENTATION WAS LUCID AND CONVINCING, EXCEPT FOR ITS FAILURE TO ADDRESS THE LARGE DISPARITIES. IT THEREFORE WAS IMPORTANT PROMPTLY TO REASSERT THE WESTERN ARGUMENTATION ON DISPARITIES, ALONG THE LINES OF THE WORKING GROUP DRAFT ALLIED STATEMENT FOR THE OCT 10 PLENARY.

DRAFT ALLIED PLENARY STATEMENT FOR 10 OCTOBER

4. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES), WHO WILL DELIVER THE OCTOBER 10 WESTERN STATEMENT, SAID THAT STRULAK'S STATEMENT REQUIRES A TOUGH, FORCEFUL REPLY.

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5. FRG REP BEHRENDT FELT THAT A PASSE IN DRAFT OUTLINE FOR WESTERN PLENARY STATEMENT REFERRING TO THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVING DRAGGED ON WITHOUT SUCCESS FOR ALMOST A YEAR MIGHT CONVEY AN UNDESIRABLE IMPRESSION OF ALLIED NERVOUSNESS OR DESPERATION FOR AN EASTERN MOVE. HE THOUGHT THE TONE SHOULD BE MORE RELAXED. US DEP REP COUNTERED THAT SINCE THE EAST IS OBVIOUSLY INCLINED TO MARK TIME, THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTINUE THE

ORDERLY EXPOSITON OF THEIR POSITION THEREBY INDICATING THAT THE WEST IS READY FOR BUSINESS WHEREAS THE EAST IS NOT, AND ADMONISHING THE EAST FOR HAVING OFFERED NOTHING TO MATCH THE ALLIED MOVES. US DEP REP SAID HE DID NOT FEEL THAT TELLING THE EAST IT WAS TIME FOR THEM TO MOVE INVOLVED ASSUMING THE POSITION OF DEMANDEUR OR CONVEYED THE IMPRESSION OF NERVOUSNESS.

6. US REP SAID HE BELIEVED THE EAST MIGHT BE EMPLOYING A TEMPORARY DELAYING TACTIC. THE GOSHKO ARTICLE, WHICH HAD INDICATED ALLIED PESSIMISM, HAD PROVOKED REACTIONS FROM THE EAST AND THE DRAFTERS THEREFORE HAD DELIBERATELY INSERTED A PESSIMISTIC NOTE INTO THE DRAFT OCTOBER 10 PLENARY STATEMENT IN ORDER TO MAKE THE EAST FEEL THAT IT WAS MISSING AN OPPORTUNITY. IN THE OCTOBER 3 INFORMAL MEETING (MBFR VIENNA 0282 AND 0283), ALLIES REPS ALSO HAD REFERRED TO PUBLIC PESSIMISM AND SOVIET REP KHLESTOV HAD AGREED THAT MOVMENT WAS NECESSARY TO DISPEL THIS PESSIMISM, INDICATING EASTERN SENSITIVITY TO THIS POINT.

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03

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PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 TRSE-00

RSC-01 NSC-07 DRC-01 NIC-01 /154 W

----- 014639

P R 051121Z OCT 74

FM USDEL MBFR VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0481

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

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MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

7. QUARLES, BELGIUM REP (ADRIAENSSEN) AND ITALIAN REP (CAGIATI) ALL AGREED WITH THE US VIEW THAT THE ALLIES COULD AND SHOULD KEEP ON THE PRESSURE, AND DEVELOP THEIR POSITION WITHOUT MANIFESTING NERVOUSNESS. CAGIATI ADDED THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD CONVEY THE IDEA THAT IF THE EAST DOES NOT MOVE, "THEN TO HELL WITH IT." GROUP CONSENSUS DEVELOPED FOR THE US APPROACH.

8. THE GROUP ACCEPTED UK REP ROSE'S SUGGESTION THAT THE OCTOBER 10 ALLIED STATEMENT SHOULD EXPLICITLY REBUT POLISH REP STRULAK'S REMARKS REGARDING FACTORS OFFSETTING GEOGRAPHIC DESPARITIES. SINCE THE AHG NOW HAD GUIDANCE INDICATING THE DURATION OF THE
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NO-INCREASE PERIOD, ROSE THOUGHT THE ALLIES SHOULD USE IT IN THE OCTOBER 10 PLENARY AS WELL AS IN THE OCT 8 INFORMAL, THEREBY REPLYING TO THE POLISH REP'S COMPLAINT ABOUT THE NO-INCREASE PERIOD'S "LIMITED DURATION". HOWEVER, US REP CAUTIONED AGAINST UNDULY LENGTHY ELABORATION OF OTHER ARGUMENTS WHICH MIGHT DETRACT FROM THE ISSUE OF DISPARITIES, WHICH WAS THE MAIN THEME OF THE OCT 10 ALLIED STATEMENT. US REP CONSIDERED THAT THE NO-INCREASE POINT MENTIONED BY ROSE COULD BE HANDLED AT THE OCT 8 INFORMAL SESSION.

9. ROSE SUGGESTED ADDING A "BRIEF, SUBDUED REFERENCE" TO THE EASTERN BUILDUP OF FORCES IN THE NGA IN RECENT YEARS WITHOUT GIVING FIGURES. CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) SUPPORTED THIS SUGGESTION, NOTING THAT THIS IDEA HAD BEEN REPEATEDLY RAISED IN THE GROUP BUT DROPPED, BUT THAT IT WAS NOT TIME GENTLY BUT FIRMLY TO REFER TO THIS POINT. THE CHAIRMAN ANNOUNCED AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, THAT THIS WAS THE CONSENSUS OF THE GROUP. AFTER FURTHER MINOR EDITORIAL EXCHANGES, THE DRAFT PLENARY STATEMENT WAS APPROVED. COMMENT -- FRG DEP REP HOFMANN TOLD US DELOFF OCT 3 THAT A KEY GERMAN AIM IN MBFR WAS TO GAIN THE WITHDRAWAL OF SIX OF THE SEVEN SOVIET DIVISIONS INTRODUCED TO THE NGA DURING THE LATE SIXTIES. END COMMENT.

NEXT INFORMAL

10. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE ALLIES WOULD BE REP-

RESENTED AT THE NEXT INFORMAL MEETING BY THE CANADIAN AND
FRG REPS AND THE US REP AND DEP REP.

MEDIA DEVELOPMENTS

11. THE US DELEGATION CIRCULATED A MEMORANDUM WHICH
REPORTED THAT POLISH DEL OFF WIECZOREK HAD ANNOUNCED AT
THE OCTOBER 3 PRESS BACKGROUNDER THAT THE EASTERN SIDE
HENCEFORTH WOULD BE MORE "REGULARLY" AVAILABLE TO
THE PRESS AND THAT WIECZOREK HAD ON THAT OCCASION GIVEN
A DETAILED OUTLINE OF THE OCTOBER 3 POLISH PLENARY STATEMENT
IN REPONSE TO A JOURNALIST'S QUESTION. THE MEMORANDUM
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NOTED GREATER EASTERN ACTIVITY WITH THE PRESS FROM THESE
AND OTHER SIGNS.

12. US DEP REP SAID HE EXPECTED THAT THE EAST
WOULD BE LEAKING TO THE PRESS MORE OF THE CONTENT OF
THEIR PLENARY STATEMENTS BUT THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD
AVOID EMULATING THIS PRACTICE. INSTEAD, THE WEST
SHOULD REMIND THE EAST OF THE AGREED CONFIDENTIALITY
OF THE TALKS. THE BELGIAN REP ADDED THAT IT ALSO
HAD BEEN AGREED TO REFRAIN FROM POLEMICS, WHICH WOULD
ESCALATE WITH SUCH LEAKS. FRG REP SAID WEST GERMAN
NEWSMEN HAD COMPLAINED TO HIM THAT THEY ARE GETTING MORE
NEWS FROM THE EAST, ESPECIALLY FROM WIECZOREK, THAN
FROM THE ALLIES. THE GROUP INSTRUCTED BELGIAN REP TO
REMIND STRULAK OF THE CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE TALKS. RESOR

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: INSTRUCTIONS, GROUND FORCES, DATA, MUTUAL FORCE WITHDRAWALS, AIR FORCE, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 05 OCT 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974MBFRV00289
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D740282-1145
From: MBFR VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19741069/aaaacgxb.tel
Line Count: 256
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 20 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <20 MAR 2002 by martinml>; APPROVED <21 MAY 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: REPORT OF AD HOC GROUP MEETING OF OCTOBER 3, 1974
TAGS: PARM, US, NATO, MBFR
To: STATE DOD
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005